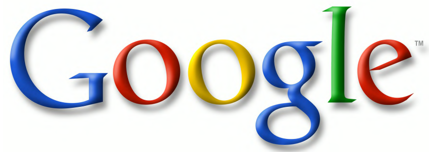


This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

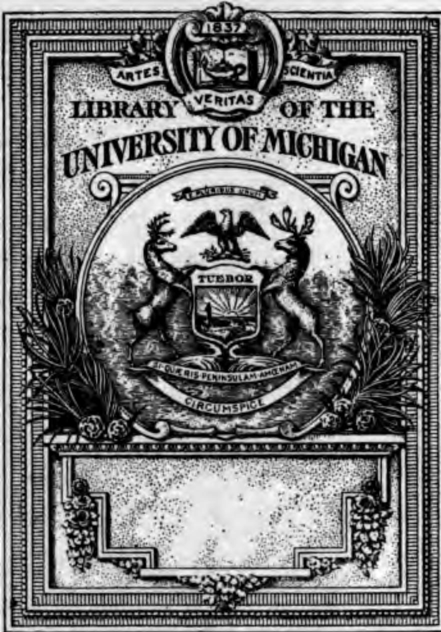
About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at http://books.google.com/

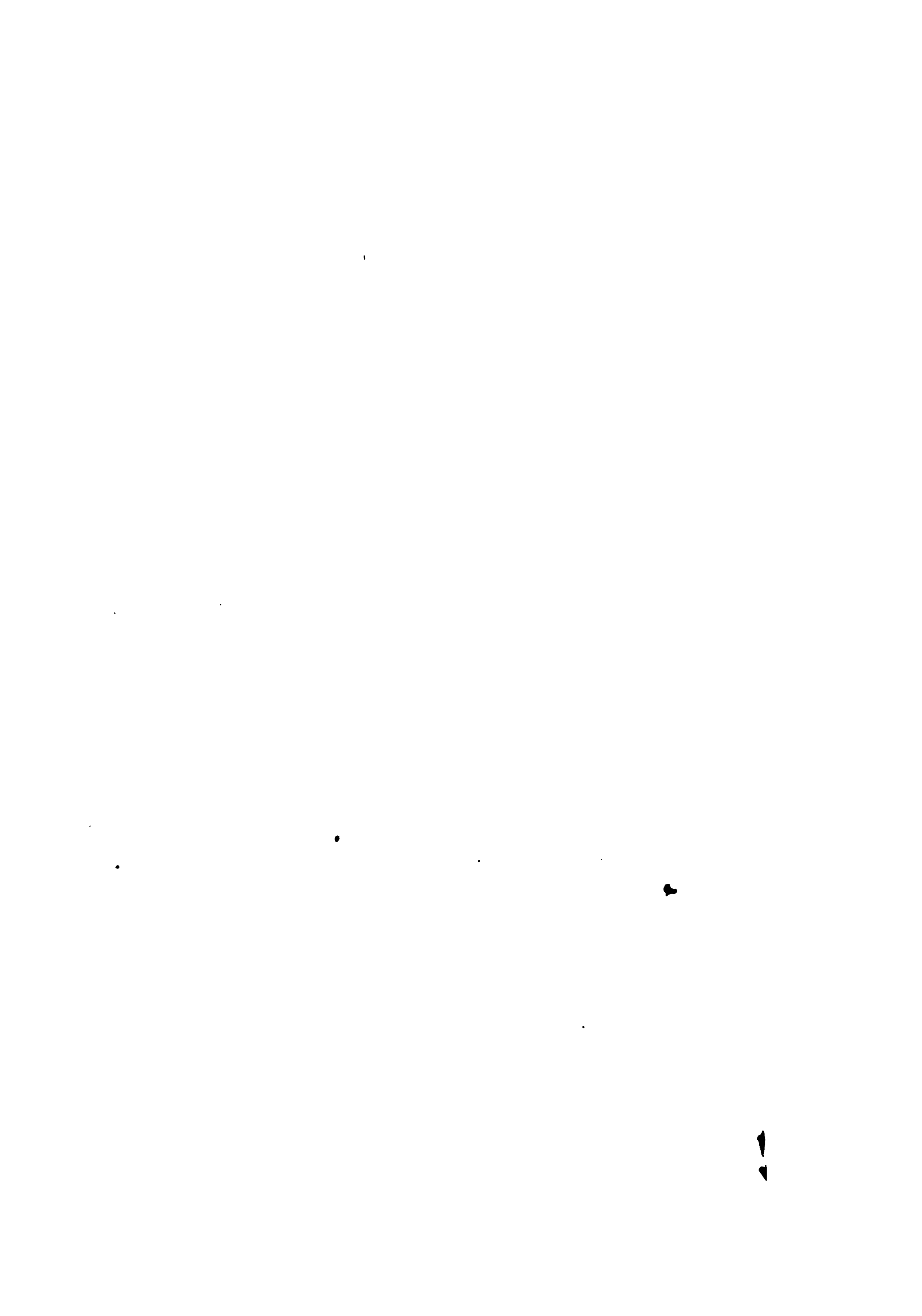
EFFICIENCY AND RELIEF

EDWARD T. DEVINE

B 899,557


1837
ARTES
SCIENTIA
VERITAS
LIBRARY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
TUEBOR
SI QUAERIS PENINSULAM AMOENAM
CIRCUMSPICE

HV
31
.D



EFFICIENCY AND RELIEF

·The Co·

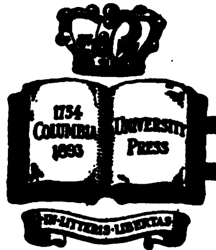
EFFICIENCY AND RELIEF

A PROGRAMME OF SOCIAL WORK

BY

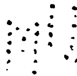
EDWARD T. DEVINE, PH.D., LL.D.

SCHIFF PROFESSOR OF SOCIAL ECONOMY IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY; AUTHOR OF "PRINCIPLES OF RELIEF," ETC.



New York
THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, AGENTS
LONDON: MACMILLAN & CO., LTD.
1906

All rights reserved



COPYRIGHT, 1906,
BY THE MACMILLAN COMPANY.

Set up and electrotyped. Published February, 1906. Reprinted February, 1906.

Norwood Press
J. S. Cushing & Co. — Berwick & Smith Co.
Norwood, Mass., U.S.A.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THE School of Philanthropy, endowed by Mr. John S. Kennedy, is conducted by The Charity Organization Society of the City of New York. This school, the first to be established for this purpose, had its origin in the need for trained workers on the part of The Charity Organization Society and other like agencies of social betterment. It began as a summer school in 1898 and as both a winter and summer school in 1903. It received its present endowment in November, 1904.

The Chair of Social Economy in Columbia University, founded by Mr. Jacob H. Schiff, has been filled by the appointment to it of the Director of the School of Philanthropy. On account of this personal connection and because of the affiliation already established between the University and the School of Philanthropy, it was deemed appropriate that the inaugural lecture of the Schiff Professor

of Social Economy should be delivered at the opening session of the School of Philanthropy for the current academic year. This address is here published with some revision, and with a brief introduction by President Nicholas Murray Butler, reproducing in part the remarks made by him at the close of the inaugural lecture.

E. T. D.

OCTOBER, 1905.

INTRODUCTION

The inaugural address of the Schiff Professor of Social Economy in Columbia University states plainly and with directness the large philosophical conception which underlies the attitude of the modern university in its relation to problems of social efficiency.

It is characteristic of the modern university to seek constantly to apply to concrete problems the knowledge that it gains and transmits. In its view, the wall between the theoretical and the practical is not impassable, for the two are now seen to be but different and complementary modes of approach to a single goal. Theory, which is insight, is valueless without application in some form. Practice, which is doing, is crude and wasteful unless founded on sure insight. There can be no greater service rendered by the university to society at large than to relate closely the deepest and surest ethical, economic, and legal insights to

practical problems of coöperation, efficiency, and relief.

A great German said not long ago that it was the glory of the universities of his land to stand *vis-à-vis* with the nation. He spoke truly. Those universities, and those alone, are genuinely national that look the problems of to-day straight in the face and bring to their solution wisdom, sanity, and courage. That nation lacks something of the highest civilization that does not in turn depend upon its universities, looking to them for guidance, for stimulus, for ideals.

Each year finds the universities of America more truly *vis-à-vis* with the nation than they have ever been before. The establishment of a department of social economy, with appropriate and permanent endowment, is new and fortunate evidence of that interrelation between the theoretical and the practical that is vital alike to the usefulness of the university and to the success of all forms of social effort.

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

EFFICIENCY AND RELIEF

EFFICIENCY AND RELIEF

THE object of this address is to show the essential unity of two subjects which in social literature and in our common social thought have been assumed to be quite distinct. In doing this it will be possible to indicate, on the one hand, the field of social economy in the university and of useful social work in the community; and on the other hand, to make clear that it will be a wholesome thing to concentrate a great part of the earnest attention which is now bestowed on one or another form of social effort upon the two specific tasks of increasing industrial efficiency in the individual, and of providing adequate relief for those who are of deficient wage-earning capacity.

Man has faced three extraordinary problems. The first was the simplest: the taking possession of the physical world, the appropriation of natural resources. The second was more com-

plex: the organization of industry, the working out of an industrial system. The third is the most perplexing: the spiritual direction of human affairs.

The leader in the first of these tasks was the pioneer, the frontiersman. He was absorbed in the discovery and the sampling of the good things which nature provides. His trail is vanishing, obliterated by rock and snow upon the mountains, grass grown in the prairies; but he is a goodly memory. The conquest of initial obstacles, the generations-long struggle with sea and plain and rocks, until they yield to the brain and the strong right arm of their natural master, — exploration, discovery, possession, utilization of the environment — this is the elementary task of man, and the study and understanding of it is the first task of the economist. There is a period in which it seems to comprise man's whole duty and the whole of his opportunity, and there are those in every age to whom a close relationship between man and nature appears the one essential, or at least the one desirable, economic adjustment. The cry in our own day — Back to the Land — appears to

rest upon some such sentiment, and the advocates of the simpler life are apt to think of frontiersmen and of farmers as its best embodiment.

Pioneers create for us the true heroic age. Here in America they are no distant, prehistoric, superhuman, unintelligible beings. They are our own immediate forbears. They pushed into the undiscovered country for the very joy of larger living. Their blood runs in our veins, and we share in certain moods something of their tingling nerves, their high courage and indomitable will. They have not only given us the earth for a heritage; they have given us also a free spirit and an instinct for domination—a sort of rudimentary organ which hears from many domains the voice calling to us clearly, more seductively than sirens ever sang, that there is "something lost behind the ranges," something waiting for us, and bidding us go find it.

Individualism is rampant in this heroic age, and yet the individual is of no consequence unless he conquers. There is no communal life demanding large sacrifices by the individual

for the general good. There is no industrial organization, no social problem. There is no conscious community housekeeping. What man does, he does for himself and his own, and he does it well, albeit at enormous expense. There is unrest, but it wears itself away in action. There is fierce conflict and warm-hearted intimacy, but they are like those of the jungle or the unbridled sea. It is an evanescent stage of society and disappears with the frontier.

There succeeds an era of industry and industrial organization. In this era there is evolved that characteristic phenomenon of modern life, the captain of industry. He is the very epitome of organization. He is the capitalist personified. With him saving never means doing without things. It only means doing things in a roundabout, a serial, an economic way. It means the incessant improvement of the processes of production. It means the utilization of waste products. It means the utmost exploitation of natural resources, of intelligence, of labor, and of consumer.

Organization is as necessary as the exploita-

tion of nature. The business man is the legitimate successor of the pioneer. He too is a leader, a foremost man, a hero, if you will, and he abundantly earns the respect, if he does not so easily gain the sentimental affection, of his fellows. He founds colleges and libraries and supports philanthropies, for his pecuniary rewards are greater and more immediate than those of the pioneer, and he has a more social instinct. He pushes farther the very work which the explorer started, for he builds railways and tunnels mountains, and carries power long distances, and spans the ocean. He makes possible the union of all mankind into a common brotherhood, each touching the farthest unit with electric wand or going instantly wherever he may be needed on the globe which has become the common habitation of mankind.

As the pioneer loves freedom, so the business man loves power. Often he uses it for no selfish or personal end, but for the good of others. In the higher evolution of the type he becomes very completely socialized, both in his organization of industry and in

his consumption of wealth. In more than one community there are parks, art galleries, libraries, and hospitals which the community would not have created from public funds, but which represent the particular form of expenditure in which a business man of generous income takes the maximum of satisfaction. It is not that he has denied himself to give to others, but that he has chosen, and wisely chosen, a form of enjoyment in which others must perforce share. He gets the greatest pleasure from a socialized use of wealth.

It is in the period of the organization of industry that the economic man of the Ricardian literature is isolated, catalogued, and described. The creation of capital is seen to be of the greatest importance, and the development of the saving instinct becomes the salvation of the individual. The saving, however, which is thus exalted is no mere parsimony. It is, on the contrary, economy in its older and better sense of management. It means increased efficiency, and it means, therefore, from the very beginning, increased and not diminished enjoyment. The fruition

of organized industry, which we have not yet in practice fully realized, is not alone the rise of the captain of industry, or of the great capitalist, but the creation of a substantial body of labor capitalists, of individuals who themselves have saving instincts, who do their own saving, and who share in the rewards of a capitalistic régime.

Commercial enterprise, industrial advance, the opening of new markets, national prosperity — these are the watchwords of this second stage of social development, as exploration, discovery, the conquest of nature are the watchwords of the first.

We find in human history a third type worthy to rank with the pioneer and the business man in point of achievement, one who like them has changed the face of civilization, one who in various guise, since Moses led the Children of Israel from bondage, has played a great rôle in the practical affairs of men. This third great doer is the spiritual leader, the prophet, the missionary. It is he who in the ancient world combined the functions of priest, magistrate, and chief; who in

colonial enterprise and exploration has pushed farther and remained longer than those who came for conquest, for adventure, or for gain. It is the missionary who has had the motive and the courage to carry the torch of civilization to many who sit in darkness, and who, among the forsaken and outcast of his own community, has made the greatest sacrifices, worked the hardest, borne the most.

The missionaries of humanity's great religions have known those on whose behalf they have striven, known them with an intimacy of knowledge which comes only from an infinite yearning to save and to serve. They have known themselves and their own powers as only they know themselves who are ready, without counting the cost, to put forth their uttermost strength, to exhaust their utmost resources, to spend and be spent in striving, so they win their goal. As the pioneer loves freedom and the business man loves material power, even so, and not otherwise, the missionary loves his spiritual dominion. The first overcomes natural obstacles, the second brings the community to a high plane of material

prosperity, the third lifts the thoughts of men to the enduring realities of an ideal realm.

The pioneer, the captain of industry, the spiritual leader has each his virtues, and each the faults which are the natural results of the conditions with which he has had to deal. Each from one standpoint may be called ruthless, reckless, careless of human lives so that he gain his ends. Each has had need of courage, power, creative intelligence. Each has furnished examples of unchecked license. Each has furnished types of justice, breadth of vision, tolerance, a free spirit tempered by all human virtues. It is not to judge individual types, either to exaggerate their good qualities or to caricature their faults, that I have tried to sketch the three types of men, but only to touch with a more human interest the three problems with which they have been associated, the exploitation of nature, the organization of industry, and the spiritual mastery of the social forces.

It becomes apparent on reflection and study that no one of these great tasks can ever be fully performed; and that there are aspects

of all of which the pioneer, the business man, and the missionary respectively have not so much as dreamed. The exploitation of nature is a continuous process, now transferred from the frontier to laboratory, to complex mechanism, and to heretofore unknown degrees and kinds of human skill. The organization of industry is likewise an evolutionary process, depending not alone on administrative ability, but also on a social inheritance and a world-wide interchange of experiences. And precisely so the spiritual conquest, which is the last and highest task of man, is proceeding by a sure, if uneven, development through the mastery of specific problems as we face them, through the endurance of trials and suffering, through the elimination of evils in the environment and the strengthening of character, through improved heredity, a protected childhood, and that liberty in mature life which is not the absence of restraint but a result of the growth of power.

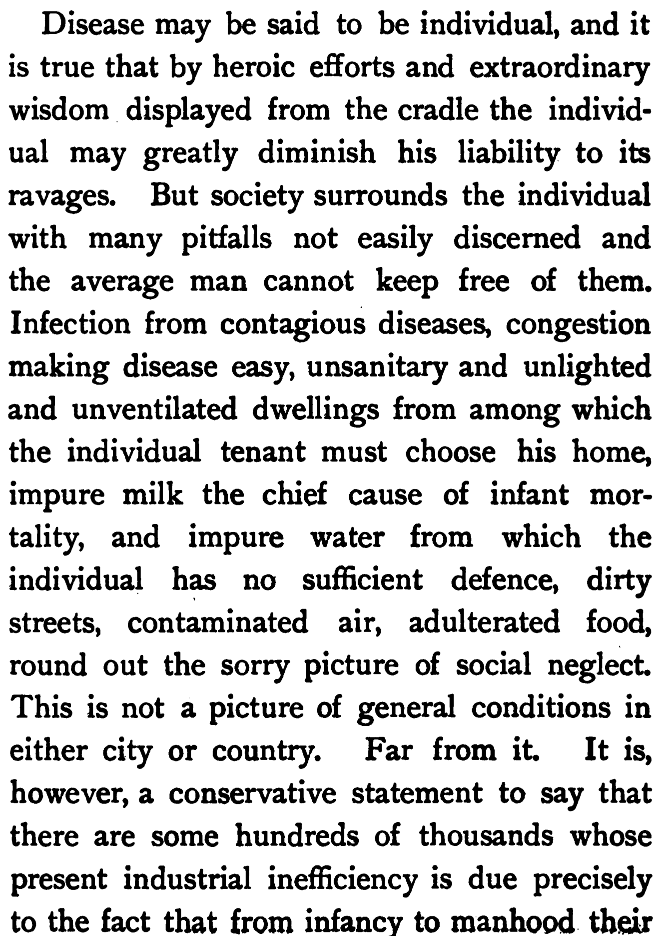
The three problems retain their living interest as they assume new aspects. We cannot ignore them. We cannot count any of

them as solved or as obsolete. But social problems may change their form long before they are solved, and a new statement may sometimes help to understand them. By turning at the right moment to their fresher aspects we may the more readily contribute our mite toward their solution. It is then because these three problems are still live problems that we have tried to restate them. In order to promote the more complete exploitation of nature; in order to perfect our industrial system and to free it from just ground of attack; in order to bring nearer the unquestioned supremacy of the higher and better parts of our nature, we must learn how intelligently to deal with the two specific, immediate, and yet by no means unmanageable tasks to which I have referred.

The first of these two problems is the increase in the industrial efficiency of the individual, that those who now fall behind may become self-reliant, self-respecting, free from unnatural and degrading dependence upon the labors of others; and the second is the problem of the relief of those, whether indi-

viduals, or families, or whole classes, who have not at the moment within themselves sufficient wage-earning capacity to maintain an acceptable standard of living. The two problems are distinct and may be considered independently, although they are not entirely mutually exclusive.

Is it true that there are social as well as individual causes of inefficiency and its resulting dependence? There are those who would find the causes of distress entirely in the individual concerned — in a long course of misconduct, resulting in fit retribution. It would be on the whole easier to establish the Buddhist doctrine that all our good fortune and our ill fortune alike are the direct result of our actions in some previous incarnation, for that at least cannot readily be disproved. There are those again who at an [illegible] extreme bind man fast on another wh[illegible]ate, tracing all his actions and his fort[illegible] a biological law which forbids effecti[illegible] or release from heredity. While not [illegible] these questions I assume here that w[illegible]fringing one iota upon man's ultimat[illegible]sibility for the use



which he makes of his life, we may still find in the social environment a sufficient explanation of many cases of inefficiency.

Disease may be said to be individual, and it is true that by heroic efforts and extraordinary wisdom displayed from the cradle the individual may greatly diminish his liability to its ravages. But society surrounds the individual with many pitfalls not easily discerned and the average man cannot keep free of them. Infection from contagious diseases, congestion making disease easy, unsanitary and unlighted and unventilated dwellings from among which the individual tenant must choose his home, impure milk the chief cause of infant mortality, and impure water from which the individual has no sufficient defence, dirty streets, contaminated air, adulterated food, round out the sorry picture of social neglect. This is not a picture of general conditions in either city or country. Far from it. It is, however, a conservative statement to say that there are some hundreds of thousands whose present industrial inefficiency is due precisely to the fact that from infancy to manhood their

lives have been cast in such unwholesome, physically destructive conditions. The first duty of the social economist who would increase the efficiency of the individual then is clear. It is to put an end to the conditions which have made men inefficient through destroying their health. I am fully convinced that in these conditions in New York City to-day lies a cause of dependence greater than any other except that defective education to which I shall refer in a moment.

There are those who are inefficient because of premature employment as children. There are those who are inefficient because of the neglect of eyes, or teeth, or respiratory organs in childhood. Medical inspection in schools and treatment by physicians and nurses have already pointed the way of reform. Others are inefficient because of migration to a new country, involving the learning of a new language, it may be a new occupation, and in any event wholly new conditions of labor. The remedy here is more complex. It is obvious that if the migration continues, the task of assimilation must be hastened.

It may be that the distribution of immigrants, or the artificial creation or location of industries, will bring relief. It may be that to prevent further congestion some arbitrary limitation of particular industries, analogous to the establishment of fire lines, within which certain buildings are not allowed, will be necessary. If opportunity for employment in certain occupations is the determining factor in choosing a residence, it may prove easier to fix authoritatively the location of the factory than to deal directly and exclusively with the overcrowding of the dwellings of the operatives. Industrial displacement and changes in industry must also be held responsible for a certain amount of incidental inefficiency, as must also revolutionary changes in consumption through which the demand for certain kinds of skill diminishes or disappears.

None of the social causes thus far enumerated, not even sickness, is as important a cause of inefficiency in the individual as defective education, the entire lack of training for some, and the wrong kind of training for others. Here opens the whole field of elementary edu-

cation, the goal to which eventually all reformers come, the one most worthy field of all social effort, the one unquenchable hope of those who care profoundly for their fellow-men.

To free the minds of the coming generation from all hurtful and vicious traditions, to implant the germs of sound religious conceptions, to teach the joy and dignity of useful work, to pass on the heritage of fruitful and beneficent ideals, to put man into helpful contact with all nature, with all the past, and to give him the mastery over his own latent powers — here all teachers, all parents, all poets and prophets, all explorers and inventors, all college presidents and founders of new preventive philanthropies, all philosophers and leaders of men, become social economists in proportion as they fulfil their own function, for education is the key which unlocks individual efficiency and destroys at last the need for relief.

It is to the kindergarten and the playground with their directed and yet spontaneous exercise of mind and body; to the teacher who influences the home life of the family as well as the school period of the child; to the instruc-

tive nurse who relieves suffering and teaches the right care of the sick; to the physician in ward and dispensary who helps his patient to freedom from disease; to the visitor from church or charity who aids subtly with counsel and personal influence in untangling the difficulties which have brought disaster; to club and class room and all the educational forces of the community, by whatever name they are called, that the social economist looks for the working out of a new order.

I am thus far from wishing to suggest that no thought and effort are now being given to the problems of efficiency and relief. On the contrary, all our educational work may be said in a limited sense to be directed toward the first, and all our charitable work toward the second, although good relief work may also be educational. And yet if these be our ends, — industrial efficiency in the individual worker, and efficient relief for those who cannot maintain a standard which satisfies the public sentiment of the community, — how fragmentary and inadequate must our charitable and educational effort be admitted to be!

Social economy finds its particular field in the study of those conditions, activities, and agencies which promote or hinder the making of every individual into an industrially efficient and hence independent human being, and in the relief of those who cannot by their own efforts realize the social standards of the community of which they are a part. What domestic economy is to the family, what public administrative law is to the state, what political economy is to industry, what sociology is to society at large — all this, by very rough analogy and by very imperfect suggestion, social economy may be said to be to the community in its conscious efforts to promote the social good, to redress injustice, to overcome pauperism, and disease, and crime, to increase the points of beneficent contact with the physical and the social environment. Our aims are practical. Our material is to be found in the tenements, in the markets, in the sweatshops and the workshops, on Ellis Island, on Blackwell's Island, in Negro cabins, in mines and forests, in the kindergarten, and in the university, wherever help-

able human need manifests itself and wherever an individual at work shows less efficiency than it would be reasonable to expect.

Economics has to do with the production, distribution, and consumption of wealth. Revolutions, reforms, and changes in our methods of production, in the manner of our consumption, and in the process of distribution are economic at bottom, whatever moral or political elements they may also involve. The socialist programme, the single taxer's panacea, the protectionist's plea, the trade unionist's struggle, the capitalist's triumphs and defeats — all take place in the realm of economics, certainly one of the most interesting and one of the most important of the few vast territories into which the universe of man's activities may be divided.

The social economist is an economist before he is a social economist. He is not indifferent to any of the great questions of economics or politics. The necessary assumptions of his own field of work constantly force them upon his attention. He must, for example, assume justice among men, but when he looks about,

he sees injustice and travesties of justice on every side, and he does not hesitate to lend a hand to his neighbors in constitutional conventions, in legislatures, and in the courts. Because he is free from some legal traditions and the thraldom of some judicial precedents he may luckily hit upon some short cut, some new device, which the lawyer and the lawmaker have missed, and so he may also serve justice modestly as one of her ministers.

Again, he must take for granted a good industrial system, in which farm and mine and highway and market and bank has each its appointed place, and each its effective organization, enabling the full exploitation of economic resources and a reasonably complete enjoyment of the fruits of the earth. And yet every task to which the social worker puts his hand reveals conditions which are in flat contradiction of this assumption. Men are engaged in great business enterprises who are not equal to their responsibilities, and there are lamentable failures bringing ruin to many who have no personal responsibility for the outcome and no effective means of defence

against its evil consequences. Not only may human judgment err, but personal character may fail. Highways may become means of enriching a few, instead of an equal convenience to all; mines are allowed only a restricted output, or a dispute between miners and operatives creates artificial famine in one of the necessities of life. And when these things happen, the social economist, the worker who is seeking by this means and that to help the people, feels his labors useless for the time, and must either look on helpless while the economic forces work out some cure for the industrial disorder, or himself become a volunteer for such service as he may be qualified to render in straightening out that disorder.

These two simple illustrations sufficiently indicate the relation of the social worker to those social sciences like law and political economy from which its assumptions and raw material are drawn. It is not within the power of a human being, who is fully human, to remain indifferent to all except one class of events, one group of subjects, one department of research or endeavor. It is characteristic

of every period of intellectual awakening, every great epoch in the advance of knowledge, that geographer shall touch hands with botanist, historian with philosopher, naturalist with social reformer, all keen for some inkling of whatever new discovery or more complete demonstration has been made by any fellow-explorer. It was so in the middle ages, when the embers of the old fires kindled the torch of the new learning. It was so again in the eighteenth century, when economists and scientists exposed the weakness of the old régime and placed the brand of revolution in the hands of those who had nothing to lose; and it is so in our day in Russia, where the university becomes the centre of revolt, and in America, where the university ideal of close specialization is but superimposed upon a college ideal, under the inspiration of which, if one cannot actually achieve in many fields, he can at least sympathize heartily with achievements in many fields, and can rejoice as sincerely in every discovery made by another, in that other's particular province, as if made by himself or his own disciples in his own field.

I have dwelt upon this right of possession on the part of special workers in the results of labors not their own, for the reason that in this field of social economy we are particularly dependent upon the full exercise of that right. In a sense we have no special province of our own. There is no particular section of the earth or the heavens or the regions under the earth, no particular class of phenomena or of social relations which we may stake off and claim exclusively for our own. It is not that we are working to found a new science, although we shall no doubt have to find out some things for ourselves, because we shall need the information and no one has thought it worth while to secure it. We shall have to interpret as best we may many facts of present observation and of recorded history which neither historians nor men of affairs have known how or thought it worth while to interpret. If, from this search for new information and these attempts at interpretation, there emerges the outline of a new and distinct department of human knowledge, that will not be because it has been sought as an

end in itself, but because the new knowledge cannot otherwise be more conveniently classified and recorded.

Our immediate task, however, is not one of record or classification. It is rather one of applying what the wise men already know. What use are we now making in our community housekeeping of our present knowledge? What information have we at hand, or obtainable, which would add to the physical comfort, enlarge the intellectual horizon, remove the disabilities of the people among whom we live and for the quality of whose lives we are in large part responsible?

Have the engineers shown us how to build tunnels, and are we still projecting elevated railway structures, then our social housekeeping is faulty. Has medical science found the way to eliminate a contagious disease, and do we stumble and falter in applying the remedy, then our social economy is at fault. Have the architects and builders shown that dark, damp, unventilated, and indecent dwellings are unnecessary, then we are no true social economists if we continue to tolerate

them. If we suffer from the law's unreasonable delays after better and more expeditious methods have been developed and practised at any place where we might observe and profit by them, then it is our defective social housekeeping that is our undoing. If we fatuously segregate ourselves, the rich from the poor, the professional and leisure classes from the laborers, when it is abundantly shown that there is mutual advantage in a closer mingling and a more intimate association of the one with the other, then again we are not wise social economists, for the settlement movement with all that it implies has for many years borne testimony of a better way.

What is demanded is not the founding of a new science, or the delimitation of two or more departments of knowledge, or the minute classification of old facts, or the creation of new pigeonholes into which new facts may be stowed away. The task is something wholly different, far more congenial if the truth be told; not less difficult, it may be, but certainly more fitted to the particular qualities which are likely to be found in one

whose experience has been in action rather than in exposition.

The duty of those who are called to the department of social economy is precisely, in a word, to create an enthusiasm for social service, or better, perhaps, to create a conviction that the enthusiasm which all ardent youth feel for such service is not misplaced. It is our task to show that group action for the relief of distress and the increase of efficiency is both possible and essential, to explain what opportunities our modern communities offer for such service, to describe simply and comprehensively what has been done here and there to improve working and living conditions, and to set forth on the basis of experience both of success and failure what can and what cannot be done for those who are not in position to do everything for themselves; and, beyond these tasks, to aid in the formulation of a social programme, not alone for those who come into contact with the poor, but for such as are concerned more directly with the masses of struggling, self-supporting humanity.

The discovery, simple and obvious as it is,

that this is our task, rather than the founding of a new science, greatly clarifies the situation. It not only places under distinct obligation those who may follow this address, in that they are not called upon to judge of the validity of distinctions which it would never later be of any consequence for them to recall; and absolves the writer's colleagues in other departments of the university from the necessity of accepting, rejecting, or modifying a statement of the place allotted incidentally to them; but, what is of more consequence, it will save the time of any students who may be considering the election of these courses and who are uncertain whether they are to constitute a subdivision of sociology, or some entirely new science with its own methods, subject-matter, and terminology. Let it be understood that there is contemplated neither the creation of a new science, nor the subdivision of an old one, and that speedy disillusionment awaits any student who turns in this direction seeking to find a new room in the temple of science. The ancient altars and the accustomed rubrics will suffice for our needs

The only question which it is necessary to ask one's self in connection with these courses is this: Do you wish to put yourself in a position to lend a more efficient hand in the struggle for social justice, for the better realization of that modern social ideal, a nearer approach to equality of opportunity? This struggle takes many forms, and there are many who in their own way are participating in it who do not recognize the relation which nevertheless exists between their own part and that of others whose aims and methods may be different. Perhaps the best general statement is that all are attempting to increase the number of those who may justly claim to be citizens in the full sense of the term, active members of the social and industrial community, industrially efficient, contributing to the world's work as fully as they share in the product.

In a broad sense the aim of the higher education in its entirety is identical with that which has been set forth as the particular aim of the department of social economy. The humanities and the sciences alike train not only for professional service but also for citizenship. It is for

this reason that our subject is a comparatively late-comer in the formal programme of studies. It teaches nothing new, except what needs now and here to be done for the advancement of the social welfare and the cure of present social ills. It presupposes that those who teach history, literature, and science shall themselves be permeated by the social spirit and that the bearing of all knowledge on present social conditions shall be made clear. In case the social point of view should fail in other departments, it would be necessary to supplement the study of such branches of knowledge. But the coördination of studies from the social standpoint is already far advanced, and may often be worked out by the student himself. It will be the attempt of the department of social economy to aid individual students to effect this coördination of their accumulated knowledge and training for the direct benefit of the suffering and unfortunate; to extract from the humanities that which will be of service to humanity; to use the achievements of science for the creation of a more favorable environment, physical and social.

It is thus apparent that the social worker is not confined to the science of sociology. His material is quite as apt to come from the medical faculty, the law faculty, the school of engineering, or the school of architecture. In the eager search for more effective means of promoting the social welfare he may find himself in close alliance with the inventor, the pioneer, or the specialist in any of these or other fields of knowledge. He has a roving commission to gather new ideas, wherever in the whole round of research and demonstration they may be found.

The majority of his co-workers in one movement will be builders, in another physicians or sanitarians, in another teachers, and in still another public administrators. In certain stages of the progress of particular movements his most valued allies will be the pulpit and the press. Again the coöperation of trade unions and settlements and political clubs will become essential. Through it all, the social economist keeps his goal clearly in view. He is striving for a well-ordered community, in which stability and security and equity are insured. He joins

hands with philanthropic societies, to get out of the way initial obstacles which prevent natural growth, but he is not at heart so much of a philanthropist as a democrat. He appears in behalf of specific reforms, but he is not a conventional reformer, least of all a believer in any social panacea. He is an economist in his appreciation of the fundamental, slowly developing social forces which result from changes in the environment, and the opening of new resources, but he is not an economizer in the sense of constantly seeking to avoid some present expense, regardless of the larger sacrifice which such saving implies.

In the higher education of the social worker there will first be required accurate information concerning the extent of actual present dependence — poverty, preventable disease, bad sweatshop and factory conditions, premature employment, excessive congestion of population, unsanitary or otherwise indecent housing, and all other forms of social distress or injustice. It is of no consequence whether these intolerable and yet remediable features of our civilization be looked upon as unfortunate incidents of

progress, by-products, as it were, to be dealt with on their own merits, or demerits, and in confidence that the onward march of industry will be in no wise affected by what is done for or by the submerged; or whether, on the other hand, we conceive that the great body of common laborers, in whose ranks are constantly appearing large numbers very near the margin of subsistence, themselves constitute the chief body of the community, whereas the leisure class are the incidents, the by-products of civilization. In the latter view the movements which the social economist investigates may appear to have deeper social significance, but in either case knowledge of the extent of the problem and of its character is essential.

It is not merely a quantitative analysis that is to be undertaken, but a very careful inquiry into the real nature of these various forms of distress and hardship. Is it the desire, for example, to examine into the question of dependent children? It is comparatively easy to find how many children there are in asylums or in boarding homes. It is quite possible to find how much the city is paying

for maintenance, and how much more is provided for by private benevolence. It is not so easy, but is nevertheless possible, to find out something of the relative cost of various competitive methods of caring for children, in institutions, in boarding homes, and in free homes — cost, that is, in proportion to results measured in terms of child life, education, and character. The more difficult part of this latter inquiry lies in the necessity for obtaining any knowledge of the subsequent career of those who have been reared by the respective methods, and on this our data are exceedingly meagre. But beyond all such necessary inquiries lie still others, which have to do with the causes of orphanage, half-orphanage, and child-dependence. What bearing on dependent childhood have accidents to heads of families on railways and in factories, tuberculosis and other social diseases, premature employment of future parents, congestion of population and of industries, and unrestricted immigration? It is obvious that in these inquiries there will be need of just such scientific training as is required for the painstaking

investigations of the laboratory, and that we are brought all too speedily in many directions to the outer bounds of present knowledge, where there is abundant opportunity for research, induction, and helpful generalization.

Public funds, enormous in the aggregate, are expended in what is known as "outdoor relief," which if turned to more legitimate uses, would result in effecting most desirable changes. Reformers in this field have dwelt too much upon the saving of money which would result from the discontinuance of this form of public relief. The social economist has comparatively little interest in such saving, except as it will release new revenue for other purposes. The facts in regard to the amount of these expenditures and the manner in which they are expended are known but very imperfectly and for many states are not known at all.

One part of our task has thus been defined — a study of present social conditions. Such study may profitably begin with charitable institutions and agencies, that we may form some conception of the character and extent

of the burden which has been consciously and definitely assumed by society. It must extend beyond these, however, to an inquiry into the number and the reasons for the underfed, the overworked, the diseased, the short lived, and the inefficient. We cannot ascertain their exact number; we cannot isolate them for close observation. But we can form some idea of their number, and we must observe as accurately as possible. Neither the novelty nor the difficulty of a scientific investigation has ever yet been held a sufficient reason for failure to undertake it.

Here again it must be insisted that we are investigating the extent and the quality of human misery by no means because that is of itself our chief interest. We do it for the reason that we have gained a clear vision of a society in which dependence, preventable disease, undue congestion of population, and other such social distempers are unknown; because we have a keen sympathy with those who struggle; and because we have become convinced that there is rational ground for the most enthusiastic optimism, if we are

ready to provide comprehensive, efficient, radical relief for all remediable distress. Our interest lies not so much in the support of the dependent, though that may be temporarily necessary, as in the relief of the dependent, that is to say, the elimination of dependence.

The second part of our undertaking is perhaps in an even more embryonic stage. This is the study of the principles on which remedial effort should be undertaken. We are not without precedents and forerunners, although these are naturally to be found less in text-books and in university courses than in the reports of charitable institutions and settlements, in fugitive pamphlets and official reports, in the manifestos of trade unions and employers' associations, in political platforms, in the creeds of bodies created under the inspiration of some great need — temporary, it may be, but reappearing in new guise to be a part of that broadening stream of experience and precedent which it is now our duty to assemble, scrutinize, and digest. The principles of relief, however, are still, for

the most part, in spite of the abundance of such raw material, to be formulated. They are taking shape in the minds of scores of capable administrators and solitary social workers; they are being reduced to tentative statements in municipal, state, national, and international conferences. They are illustrated in much admirable work which is in progress in various places, and even embodied in graphic form in exhibits in international expositions. But they await the transforming and enlightening process of comparison, public discussion from a more detached standpoint, and rigid scientific analysis such as may be expected not only at Columbia, but at other universities, especially at Pennsylvania, Chicago, Wisconsin, Michigan, Cornell, and Harvard, where, under somewhat varying names, courses in social economy have been inaugurated.

It will be one task of the department to pass in review the various professions and callings, to determine, as fairly and as accurately as may be, to what extent the great body of their members — lawyers, physicians,

business men, clergymen, and even philanthropists — are at present meeting their social obligations; whether they are successfully and consistently taking a social point of view; whether they are considering, to the extent which may reasonably be demanded, the social effect of the policies upon which, whether consciously or not, they are acting. In the light of this knowledge, and in the light of the study of social conditions, will the young men and women who come within the influence of the department be able to work out their own social programme. If the department is able to increase the number of citizens in the various professions and callings of life who have this social point of view, who are concerned as to whether that which they do has a beneficial or an injurious effect upon the general welfare, and who, whatever their individual success, are not content without doing their share to ameliorate social conditions, it will have justified the expectations of those who are responsible for its existence.

What has been said makes clear why it is that the authorities have sought to connect

this chair of social economy directly with practical social work, and why it has seemed to them important that the instructor shall keep continuously in close and vital touch with present needs, present struggles, and reform movements in present progress. It is disadvantageous for any one to lose sympathetic touch with affairs. For the social economist to do so would destroy his reason for being. Social economy has to do with the inventions and improvements in the useful arts and the discoveries of science, with the results of research and experiment, with the ripe conclusions of scholars in all fields, and its special province is their application to the increase of efficiency. The social economist is the modern organizer of knowledge for the practical good of man. Law, administration, medicine, sanitation, offer, as we have seen, abundant raw material for the economist. For there are abuses which lie in the laws and which only the law itself can remedy; there are inequalities and wrongs from the imperfect administration of public affairs and these only an efficient and just administration can redress;

there are physical ills and ailments for which medicine must be provided, and preventable disease with which only the sanitarian can cope. These attempts to prevent disease, or to redress injustice, or to realize for the good of the community any new opportunity, rest upon a social basis, in so far as they are undertaken by the community acting through municipal agencies, or through private concerted effort. The distinction between public relief and private charity, so important from certain points of view, is of no importance in determining the field of social economy. Health department, tenement house department, police department and courts, institutions for reformation and hospitals for the sick, orphan asylums, relief societies, employment agencies, farm colonies, legal aid societies, societies for the prevention of cruelty and of crime, social settlements and religious agencies, no less than associations and institutions which, like the charity organization society, by their constitution declare it to be their object to change social conditions for the better, come within the range of investigation and study.

These organized agencies and departments for social betterment do not, however, exhaust the field. They are but its frontier. Beyond lies the future, the undiscovered country, the unrealized opportunities for helping our weaker brothers to gain the essential degree of efficiency, or failing that, temporarily to realize in any event that minimum standard below which we are determined that none shall be compelled to live.

A Forecast

The department of social economy begins with a survey of present social needs and the critical study of existing agencies for social betterment. By assembling past experiences and the efforts in progress in our modern communities, and interpreting them in the light of economic laws and social philosophy, the department makes its contribution to the higher education and professional training of those who are to engage in these movements. It seeks in this way also to increase the number of citizens who have the spirit of social service.

Although the elements which enter into the equipment of the social worker are many and varied, the missionary has been found to be on the whole his best prototype. There are missionary movements in education, politics, and social reform, no less than in religion, and the social worker must become saturated with their spirit. To catch the secret of the successful missionary movements; to come into vibrant sympathy with underlying human needs and passions; to attain to an understanding of fundamental social institutions: these are prime necessities for the social worker. The training of the future leaders in social work naturally begins, therefore, as it has begun at Columbia, with the subjects that are most clearly related to practical affairs.

It must inevitably, however, extend beyond these subjects in at least two directions. A knowledge of social legislation has already become almost as indispensable as familiarity with practical relief measures. The discovery of ways by which definite ends may be attained, the possibilities and the limitations of social reform through changes in laws and in admin-

istrative policies, would be the special theme of those who represent in the faculty this second branch of social economy. The underlying principles of legislation affecting health, education, and the diminution of crime come within the range of their inquiries, as do also the social effects of monetary standards and of credit, banking, and insurance systems. The real nature of the police power of the state, the far-reaching effects of certain judicial decisions, and the legitimacy of the struggles for privacy, leisure, and recreation, are still further illustrations of live questions which would call for elucidation from an instructor well grounded in the principles of law and administration, but inspired also by the missionary zeal of the social worker, and not too rigidly bound by judicial precedents and legal formulæ.

There is a third fundamental subdivision of the department distinct from and coördinate with the two already named. There are social traditions, beliefs, and principles of action which it is of the utmost importance for social workers rightly to appreciate. Some of them, as for example the right of private property, have their

tap-root deep in the history of social institu tions. There are others, like the present furore for municipal ownership and operation of public utilities, which appear to be of mushroom growth. The study and interpretation of these ideas and ideals is from one standpoint psychological, but to trace their evolution, to discover their effect on social welfare, and to combine and assimilate them as definite social movements, belong to the social economist. They are composite, diverse, often conflicting, yet in so far as there is good in them, and permanent value, they must be blended, harmonized, made to yield their essential contribution to the larger missionary spirit of the age. This final task of the department of social economy is the history and interpretation of social thought. With patience and humility, but with an eye constantly to the unity of all movements for social progress, the department must trace these currents in the vital thought of the day, no less than the advances through social legislation, and through those organized agencies for social regeneration and amelioration which are associated more espe-